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Office of Current Intelligence

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

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INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM

SUBJECT: Repercussions in West Germany Resulting from Communist "Unity"

The East German Communists have recently launched an intensive "unity" campaign for the purpose of blocking a West German contribution to the defense of Western Europe. Although the East German "unity" proposals may delay the progress of German-Allied negotiations on such a contribution or on the Federal Republic's integration with the West, the Communists will not succeed in their major objective. Few West Germans think that the USSR can or will permit concessions that will make such unity possible on terms acceptable either to the Federal Republic or to the Allies.

The recent "unity" proposal was met by a prompt counteroffer from the West Germans. The Bundestag adopted a resolution listing fourteen "indispensable conditions" for all-German elections and unity, and another resolution requesting appointment of a UN commission to investigate the possibilities of holding free elections in all four zones. While the East German reaction to this was unfavorable, the Communists patently will not abandon their demands. Their propaganda campaign has been accelerated, and organized demonstrations in the French sector of Berlin by Communist Youth organizations have precipitated riots resulting in serious injuries to a number of the participants.

Negotiations between the Occupation Powers on the one hand and the Federal Republic on the other with regard both to the replacement of the Occupation Statute and a German contribution to Western European defense are currently at a critical stage. The West German Chancellor is reported to be bitterly disappointed at the failure of the Washington Conference to accord the Federal Republic full sovereignty, and there is a strong feeling in Germany, whipped up by political factions hostile to the Chancellor and by veterans groups, to resist Allied offers until all German terms are met.

There are indications that the Chancellor, aware of these pressures, has increased his demands in the last few days lest his control of the situation be weakened by appearing too subservient to Allied wishes. The USSR, cognizant of the present crisis in the relationship between the Allies and the Germans, has timed the East Germany "unity" campaign to produce a maximum influence on those forces in West Germany opposed to the Chancellor's proposals. The USSR and the East German Communist regime can therefore be expected to persist with maneuvers intended to further disorganize West German opinion and lead to a stalemate in the present Allied-West German negotiations.

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There is no evidence that the West German Chancellor or his government wishes to suspend negotiations with the Allies until further Soviet unity moves have been disclosed. Nevertheless, the political situation in West Germany is such that the Chancellor must proceed with great caution lest he give his opponents an opportunity to checkmate him. West German opinion is by no means strongly in favor of rearmament or closer relations with the West, and the Social Democratic Party of Schumacher has striven to solidify this opinion against the policies of the Chancellor. Although Schumacher is hostile to Communist schemes for a united Germany, he is equally hostile to the Chancellor's attempts to bring the Federal Republic into the camp of the Western Allies except on terms as uncompromising as those of the Communists. Neutralist groups and ultra-rightist elements, although at present neither numerous nor well organized, are also actively opposing the Chancellor's policies, and he must also take into account various problems such as the Saar, to insure the support of his own party.

There is strong sentiment in Great Britain and France against German rearmament, and the French in particular are eager to do everything possible to relieve international tension. Bonn leaders have been disturbed by British and French statements that a sufficiently liberal Soviet attitude could delay the conclusion of contractual agreements.

If Chancellor Adenauer is to convince the West German public that integration is better than unification, he must whittle down Allied reserve powers to a minimum. There is no evidence, however, that he has become unreasonable about the matter, or that, given the necessary support at home and abroad, he cannot reach some satisfactory adjustment on the points presently in dispute between him and the Western Allies.